596 (private freehold), most common in the old-Amhara provinces (and in Tigre). "Rest" land is inherited only [428] by sons, not by daughters, except in the relatively rare case when a family short of young men permits a son-in-law to settle in its hamlet, whereupon some land may be inherited by the daughter who is consanguinal kin. Daughters may inherit movables such as cows, sheep, some personal belongings of their mother or father (of the father if there are no sons).

601 Kinship terms do not often differ between terms of address and reference, but often between formal and informal terms which are applied in a variety of ways ranging from authoritarian familiarity to endearments. Differences of gender are also expressed.

The generic term for kinfolk is "zämäd". Consanguinal kinfolk, on both the father's and mother's side, are called "wägän", and if they reside far away and are rarely seen the kinship is re-emphasized by the term "yäsega zämäd" (lit. kinship of one flesh). Consanguinal families sharing the same residential hamlet [178] are called "betä zämäd" (lit. kinfolk of the house). It [572] is noteworthy that in very recent times, in urban areas where kinship functions are somewhat attenuated, the term "zamad" has become extended to include a close personal, though not related, friend.

The affinal relationship is generically called "amachenät", a male affinal relative is addressed and referred to as "amach", a female as "amcha"; whether ego is male or female.

Table 9: Kinship Terms of Special Significance

Formal Term(address&reference)		Informal Address	Function
abbat	father	baba (endearing) (original babytalk)	protective; used also to address elders who are non-related, to beg protection(like a helpless baby).
ennat	mother	tatay (endearing, originally babytalk)	respectful; used also to address unrelated women, to indicate respect by placing them in senior position.
"yannat lej" (lit. my mother's child)	uterine brother		to stress, in reference, the uterine sibling, from among other siblings.
		amatey (lit. my elder mother)	"tatey" can always be used toward consanguinally related women, but an unrelated woman who is married and has born a child should be addressed as "amatey".
ayyat ayyay	-- grandfather		respectful; used also by juniors in addressing elder brother, father, father's brother, mother's brother; also by long-time servant retainers to the master; or to respectfully endear oneself to an unrelated elder.
amita	grandmother	tatay	respectful and endearing; related to "amatey". tatay used only in consanguinal address.

qedem ayyat	great-grandfather (lit. before grandfather)		respectful: usually used only in reference to patrilineal line, or to an unusually famous person in the matrilineal line.
zär	ancestor	term of reference to	consanguineal ancestor, especially male.
warsa	brother's wife		used by male ego, whom she calls the same. The term indicates mutual inheritance, and "levirate", ~~but~~ a warsa woman who has born sons and becomes a widow, remains in residence and is thus "inherited" together with her cows.
goban	co-wife, rival (reciprocal term)		used by Muslim Amharic-speakers, to whom zigyay is permitted.

601 Cousins are simply addressed and referred to as "uncle's child" or "aunt's child", and there is no terminological difference between paternal and maternal uncles. But the informal terms mentioned above are extended to these consanguineal kinfolk for special emphasis of endearment, respect and protection. For the latter, the address "gashey" is used commonly, and a rarer, more poetic and somewhat archaic term of address would be "ambayē" (my mountain fortress).

Familiarities, teasing or endearing, in address to siblings include "abäba" (flower) for endearment to an older girl (sister); "anchi" (Thou, feminine) in teasing address of a girl to a younger, male sibling, otherwise considered an insult; "antä", (thou, male), in teasing address to a younger sister.

B. Affinal Kin ("amachenät") and Residence.

606 574 Affinal relatives, especially the male ego's parents-in-law, must also be visited regularly, at least once every two months in the dry season, or, if they reside too far away, at least twice a year. Gifts, (e.g. a fat sheep) must be brought, and hospitality and a feast can be expected in turn.

606 In popular Amhara opinion, the affinal villain is not so much the mother-in-law, as the step-mother-in-law. [601] Both are addressed respectfully as "amatey" (lit. my elder mother). But it is believed that a mother, desiring her daughter to be happy in marriage, will

576 195 therefore, know). Abusing people with vulgar insults ("laddäfa") tends to reflect on the abuser, so that he is considered "belgena", a rude person. Such a person speaks in high-pitched, strident style, to commoners; while to social superiors he fawns and wheedles, using baby-talk such as "abbabba" (daddy) to a lord and "ammamma" or "tatay" (mummy) to a lady, in mournful tones of self-abasement and utter helplessness, begging paternal protection and forgiveness as if he were an infant that had not yet reached the "age of reason".

576 This is mocked, for the Amhara distinguishes between such servility and non-servile gestures of subordination, such as the "gursha", the bowing from the hip, and the walking backwards when departing from the king. Servants and other employees may indicate dissatisfaction at being short-changed, by bowing not quite so deeply the next time, whereupon a wise lord or employer will take a cue, increase the wage, and see it acknowledged by a specially deep bow or knee-kiss. Otherwise, protest will take the form of "murmuring", a semi-articulate protest which may lead to open rebellion.

576 ●601 Kinship terms are sometimes employed, outside the kin context, to communicate respective positions in a situation of differential social status. Thus, it is respectful to address a status superior as "ayya" (lit. "my dear elder"), used to the father or elder brother. The extension of this term is fairly recent, in line with improved communication and transportation, but the rustic still uses the more ancient version, "ayya", (which has the same meaning). Because of this, a wit who does not want to address a rustic as "ato" (Mister), sometimes addresses the ignoramus, in mock respect, as "ayya". (This cheats him out of his "entitles", reminiscent of the use of the address "Doc" by Southern Whites to Negroes, avoiding "Mister")

576 195 562 The speech pattern and etiquette to be expected from women, nearly all of whom are illiterate and have no formal education, is

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

permissive rather than prescriptive, and the degree to which individual rights are protected against the demands of collectivities. 121*

In pursuing this analysis we shall examine in turn the three main institutional orders which were structurally differentiated in Amhara society: the kinship system, the church, and the military-political system. In conclusion we shall discuss some more general features of social organization among the Amhara which relate to the question of individual independence.

Kinship

A base line of social constraint among the Amhara is provided by the obligations inherent in their family system. The husband must work to provide food and to defend the boundaries of the family land against all comers. The wife must care for all that transpires within the home compound—preparing of food, fetching water, caring for infants, spinning cotton, tending the fire—and must avoid sexual relationships with other men. The children must tend the flocks, do other work chores, and generally obey the slightest command of any of their elders. Neglect of any of these basic obligations brings sharp reprisals: divorce of the husband, beatings of the wife and children. 121* 593 462 [857]

Obligations toward the parents persist, moreover, long after the children have married and established families of their own. Young married men are supposed to contribute one or two days a week to working their fathers' land, and to assist them in time of litigation. They are obliged to care for their parents when the latter have become too old to provide for themselves, an obligation sometimes discharged on a rotating basis among the surviving children. There is also a solemn obligation for the children to arrange the appropriate memorial feasts (*tazkār*) following the death of a parent, especially the one that is due on the fortieth day after death. 121* 593 [888] [744] [765]

Adolescent children are subject to the will of their parents with respect to choice of a spouse, and youths are expected to follow their fathers' wishes in connection with adult work roles. Threat of disinheritance is the powerful consideration that underpins these constraints. For their part, the parents are obliged to keep their land in the family. They may not sell it to outsiders, and must bequeath goods and land to their children, dividing them equally among the consanguine children, with perhaps a certain amount extra for the oldest son. [882] [423] [428]

With regard to siblings and more distant kin, however, relations are rather casual and obligations few. Although residence tends to be virilocal among the Amhara, descent is bilateral. Except for a small number of royal and aristocratic families, therefore, there are no obligations with respect to corporate lineages. The absence of formal structure in extended kin relations is 121* 602 [593] [591] [611] [201]

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

shown by the vagueness of Amhara kin terminology. The term for brother, *wandam*, also applies to all the male relatives of one's generation and even to one's close friends. Similarly, the terms for uncle and aunt (*agot* and *akeste*) are sometimes used for nephew, niece, and cousin as well; and often these terms are simply replaced by the abstract generic word for kin, *zamad*. The extent of reciprocal obligations among kin outside the nuclear family is a function primarily of the amount of spontaneous affection that exists among the individuals concerned and how close they happen to live to each other. Relatives on good terms with one another normally take turns visiting one another and eating together on holidays. They help one another in the event of sickness, death, fire, litigation, and murder. Orphaned or economically burdensome children are often farmed out to the households of more successful relatives.

These activities are based on voluntary reciprocity or good will. In its formal structure, the Amhara kinship system stresses the independence of the nuclear family. Although it occasionally happens that married brothers live in a single large compound under the moral authority of their father or an older brother, who is known as its *alaqā* and is responsible for the compound's payment of taxes, each nuclear family lives in separate quarters and produces and consumes its own supply of food by working its own separate acreage of land.

Within the nuclear family itself, the ties that bind are limited by certain fundamental safeguards of individual rights. One is the institution of private property. The land which each partner brings into a marriage or later acquires through bequests remains his own until death. If they should separate, each takes his own land, and the goods acquired by the household during their marriage are divided equally between them. There is also the provision of *gīl*, a quantity of property that either or both of the spouses may designate, prior to getting married, as strictly private property and indivisible in case of divorce. In the event that a nuclear family enters one of the modern savings associations or *equb* (to be discussed below), husband and wife join as separate members.

The possibility of divorce is another safeguard of individual rights within the nuclear family. Only in the *querbān* type of marriage is divorce forbidden. This form is normally restricted to priests and very devout, usually older, people; and even then divorces sometimes occur, the couple preferring the displeasure of the church to a life of continued antagonism. The standard sort of marriage is the *samānya* or contract form, in which the equivalent of a simple "I do" concludes the match and a simple "I do not" legitimates divorce. The divorce may be initiated by either husband or wife. An Amharic